"Något som var väldigt *scandalous"*: Exploring the effects of Concordia Language Villages on second language acquisition

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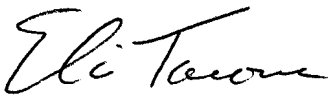

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ABSTRACT

Second language acquisition research has shown that social context affects language learning and use. Whether it be a foreign language classroom, study abroad program or summer immersion camp, it can be expected that language teaching contexts with different goals may affect second language acquisition in distinct ways. Concordia Language Villages, a unique summer program that bases language instruction on play, is a context that has been little researched thus far. The small body of CLV research that does exist has so far not addressed what a CLV graduate can actually do with the target language.

This exploratory study represents the first attempt to investigate the role CLV may play in a learner's second language acquisition by comparing the learner languages of two advanced speakers of Swedish who learned in different contexts (predominantly CLV vs predominantly classroom). Data from an elicitation task were gathered and analyzed across a variety of measures including complexity, accuracy and fluency. The findings show that while the participants appear to be similar across these broad measures on the surface, a closer qualitative analysis reveals some noteworthy differences. Interestingly, though the classroom learner had had more exposure to Swedish medium environments overall, the CLV learner's language was as good as his and in addition had some unique features. Implications of the study and directions for future research conclude the paper.

INTRODUCTION

> "No matter how far I go, it will always be this tiny, rustic camp, tucked away in the woods of northern Minnesota, where I first discovered the world."

(Léonie, Lac Du Bois participant (CLV), WorldView Blog).

The sentiments above accurately capture the way I feel about Concordia Language Villages (CLV). This study was conceived of as a way to start to try to answer questions about my experience there that I have been thinking about for almost half of my life. I studied Swedish at CLV and Spanish in school during roughly the same time in my life. After six summers (four two-week and two four-week sessions) at CLV, I was fairly proficient in the language and was able to communicate in Swedish the entire time on a two-week trip to Sweden. However, after six years of Spanish in school I could speak well in the classroom but barely hold a conversation with actual speakers on a trip to Mexico. Why did I seem to learn so much more, and have more fun doing it, at CLV than in my school language classrooms? How did these two different environments affect what I could and could not do in the languages? All these years later, Swedish is a huge part of my identity and I consider myself to be linguistically and culturally fluent. I speak Spanish only occasionally and more as a mental exercise.

The importance of language learning is becoming increasingly apparent in our globalized world, yet the United States falls far behind in teaching and learning languages. Only 10% of the US population speaks a language other than English proficiently (AAoAS, 2017b). In a report on foreign language instruction in US schools, Pufahl and Rhodes (2011) note that the trend worldwide is toward providing language instruction at younger and younger ages, but in the US the vast majority of students do not have that opportunity until middle school and or even as late as high school. The American Academy of Arts and Sciences (2017a) has also noted that there

has been a significant decline in the number of middle schools which offer world languages in the US in recent years.

For those US Americans that do learn a second language, what are the paths to language proficiency? Of course, some Americans grow up bilingual by speaking a language other than English in the home. The number of Americans who hear a language other than English at home accounts for only 20% of the population, however, with the rest of Americans speaking only English at home (AAoAS, 2017b). For those monolingual English speakers, there are several options for learning a second language. The first and most widely accessible option would be to take a foreign language in school. There are often only a limited number of languages available at the K-12 level, generally Spanish, French and German, though there has been a trend in recent years to offer more languages such as Chinese (Pufahl & Rhodes, 2011). An exciting development in second language education in recent years is toward immersion schools in which students learn academic content through their second language. Pufahl and Rhodes note that though the immersion model of foreign language teaching does provide students the opportunity to attain a high level of proficiency in the target language, it is only offered by 6% of public schools with language programs in the US.

Another option for Americans to acquire foreign language proficiency would be to study abroad in a country where the target language is spoken. However, the expense of this option limits who can participate. In addition, the trend worldwide is toward English as a lingua franca (Jenkins & Leung, 2014). This trend can put US students at a disadvantage for learning the second language in the target country as locals might switch to English rather than negotiate for meaning with a US student in the local language. A third option is to participate in a supplemental language summer program such as the Middlebury Language Schools intensive

summer program or Concordia Language Villages summer immersion camps. These programs are good supplements to the classroom, but are short-term and are also expensive, limiting who can enroll. Though there are multiple ways to become proficient in a second language in the US, this paper will focus on two, the foreign language classroom and Concordia Language Villages, as these are the contexts most familiar to the researcher, and as explained above, why I wanted to do this study in the first place. It is important to acknowledge that even within these two contexts, there is a lot of variation. Not all villages at CLV are alike just as not every high school foreign language classroom is alike.

For the purposes of narrowing the focus of this paper, a table grounded in my own experiences in both contexts will be presented and used to discuss the key ways in which foreign language classrooms and CLV are similar and different social contexts. After a brief overview of the contexts, I will review the research literature on social contextual factors in those two settings that are theorized to impact second language use and acquisition. As not all readers may be familiar with CLV, this review will be followed by a more detailed description of CLV integrating mention of key concepts from the literature. After describing the unique context of CLV, an introduction to my study and research questions will be presented.

BRIEF COMPARISON OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE CLASSES AND CLV CONTEXTS

Table 1: Comparison Between Sjölunden, Swedish Language Village, and High School Spanish Classrooms

	Concordia Language Village Sjölunden	**High School Spanish Classroom**
Goal	"To prepare young people for responsible citizenship in our global community"	Language proficiency as measured by a proficiency test across modalities (reading, writing, listening, speaking)
Participants	Students at elementary & secondary level, whose families can afford program Elective, not required	All students in secondary level Two year language requirement at my high school
Hours per day of TL input	All waking hours	1 hour per day / 5 days per week
Length of Program	Short-term (1-4 weeks)	Long-term (30-36 weeks - academic year)
Target language (TL) use by learners	Mostly speak in L1, but target language required at certain times and locations (shop, bank, mealtimes)	Target language used mostly for academic tasks/taking tests until the highest level when the teacher insisted on a TL only classroom
TL use by staff	Always in front of the learners, except in certain situations (emergencies, opening day)	L1 use in the lower levels to explain new grammar concepts which gradually decreased until the highest level in which the teacher spoke almost exclusively in the TL
L1 use by learners	Not restricted except in certain settings L1 use (codeswitching) is allowed	L1 use for socializing with classmates until highest level when we were required to only use L1 L1 use on assignments treated as an error

Proficiency levels of interlocutors	Wide range of ability levels: beginners to native speakers	Narrow range of ability levels: teacher - advanced proficiency and peers - roughly same proficiency
Range of speakers providing TL input	Staff (native and nonnative), peers of varying abilities	Teacher only, maybe some media (movies, tv shows, audio)
Social contexts for language use	Wide range, primarily oral not written (mealtimes, in the cabin, bank, shop, waterfront, language class)	Narrow range, more focus on reading and writing (academic, classroom language)
Curriculum	Multimedia, outside, creative, focused on play, no textbook (not grammar based)	Textbook-focused (grammar based)

Table 1 shows that one key way that CLV and foreign language classrooms differ is in their organizing goals. The goal of foreign language classrooms is language proficiency as measured by a test, such as Advanced Placement (AP) Tests or Language Proficiency Exams. These types of proficiency exams prioritize meeting certain standards of accuracy in the L2 and all instruction in a foreign language classroom is oriented toward preparing for these tests. Test-takers must demonstrate their proficiency on a variety of skills which are organized by modality: listening, reading, writing, and speaking. Because of the tests' focus on rules and skills, instruction in the foreign language classroom is often grammar-based with the use of a textbook to present the rules of the language. Foreign language classes are widely offered in schools and in my experience, I was required by my high school to take at least two years of foreign language. This policy has an effect on who the participants in the context are. Many of the students in my first years of Spanish had little motivation to learn the target language; they were just taking the class to fulfill a requirement. Those students that continued to the higher levels

often did so to make their transcripts more attractive to colleges or with the goal of getting a high score on the AP Spanish test in order to pass out of language instruction in college.

In my school district, foreign language was not offered until middle school, so I started learning at age 13. I had Spanish class for one hour daily throughout the academic year for five years total. The range of input and proficiency levels was quite small as it was limited to just the teacher and my peers of roughly the same language ability level as me. Over the course of my studies, my teachers brought media such as movies, tv shows and audio clips into the classroom to provide more target language input, but we did not interact with other speakers. The use of Spanish by my teachers varied by level. In the lower levels, teachers would speak mostly in Spanish in the classroom, but used English to introduce and explain new grammar concepts. By the highest level, my teacher insisted on a Spanish-only classroom in which students would get grade points taken off if they used English. The target language use by students, thus, also varied depending on the level. In the lower levels, my peers and I used Spanish mostly for academic tasks, on tests, and to speak with the teacher (upon insistence from her). However, once we reached the highest level, we were required to socialize in our L2 as well.

In terms of social contexts for language use, my Spanish class provided just one, the academic classroom. Spanish was used for academic purposes such as taking tests, writing essays or giving presentations. Because the whole curriculum was geared toward helping students attain language proficiency as measured by a test, there was little room for creative assignments or language play in the classroom. Even if the assignment was creative, such as making a short video in the target language, students still received a grade for their efforts. As students we were always conscious of the grade we would be receiving and thus, avoided taking risks with the language so as not to make a mistake and get a lower grade. In the high school

credit program at CLV, I did receive an overall grade on projects and homework completed and use of Swedish, but it was almost exclusively based on effort, not on accuracy.

By contrast, the organizing goal of Concordia Language Villages is "to prepare young people for responsible citizenship in our global community." This goal, related to identity, is inherently unmeasurable and as a result CLV learners take no proficiency tests and do not receive grades (except in the high school credit program discussed further below). CLV is not a required program, and is costly which influences who participates in the program. Many of my peers were highly motivated to learn Swedish because they were interested in learning more about their heritage and were interested in the Swedish speaking community. While there were certainly students who were forced by their parents to attend, in general most students that were at Sjölunden really wanted to be there. In addition, while there are some scholarships available for participants, many of my peers were from a fairly similar socioeconomic background.

Participants at CLV can start at seven years old; I began learning Swedish there at age ten. In addition to starting at a younger age, the number of hours a day the learners are surrounded by the target language (all waking hours) is also greater although the learners can only attend the programs for short periods (1-4 weeks) during the summer. Another large difference between the foreign language classroom environment and CLV is the range of proficiency levels of speakers the learners interact with. Each village possesses community members with a wide range of proficiency levels, ages, and backgrounds; unlike classrooms, which are generally grouped by age or ability level, learners at CLV interact with different ability groups of language learners and users throughout their day. Learners are constantly interacting with these different groups of people in different settings - in the cabin, in small language group, in cultural activities, at mealtimes and at free time.

Counselors occasionally break from the target language in certain situations such as on opening and closing day when speaking with villagers' parents, when giving important instructions (such as safety rules at the waterfront) and in cases of emergency, but otherwise interact with the villagers entirely in the target language. CLV participants are not prohibited from using their L1 although the target language is essential for participating in most camp activities and the villagers in the high school credit program receive grades on their attempts to use it. There are incentives in place which strongly encourage students to use the target language as extensively as possible for their level. In general, in my early years at Sjölunden, I would speak mostly in English with my peers, but use Swedish in familiar camp routines such as songs and chants, when required to at the bank, shop and mealtimes, in small language group and to make jokes with my friends. In the high school credit program, I was required to use Swedish in many more contexts throughout the day and was graded on my efforts to do so. Learners at CLV encounter a wide range of social contexts for language learning and use such as at the shop, bank, waterfront, cabin and in language class. Of course, it must be noted that just because these opportunities are present does not necessarily mean all learners will automatically take advantage of them.

Due to the focus on making language meaningful and fun, and no pressure from proficiency tests, the curriculum at CLV is much freer and counselors can be creative in their instruction. While credit students do receive a grade for their efforts, it is not based on accuracy. Students are not worried about being marked down for errors. The small group language classes learners have are often game- or project-based and held outside or in different parts of the village such as the bank where students can learn and practice the language used in those locations. However, at Sjölunden, learners do not receive very much explicit grammar or writing

instruction until they reach the high school credit program which can result in learners with highly developed oral skills, but limited written skills.

REVIEW OF RELEVANT RESEARCH LITERATURE

Several of the social contextual factors that differentiate foreign language classrooms and CLV have been shown by SLA research to impact second-language acquisition and use. While there are doubtless many more, only the most relevant factors will be discussed in detail here.

The variationist sociolinguistic framework accounts for individuals' use of a variety of registers, dialects and languages in a range of different social contexts. It views second language learners as social beings whose "cognitive processing of the L2 is affected by social interactions and social relationships with others" (Tarone, 2007, 840). Thus, in conducting SLA research, language learning cannot be separated from social context. The social context in which L2 learning takes place, whether formal or informal, mono-cultural or varied will influence the language learned and produced. For example, Tarone and Liu (1995) show the effect different social contexts had on Bob, a young L2 English learner. In the study, the researcher observed Bob interacting in four different social contexts: with preschool peers and staff, with his teachers in primary school, his peers in primary school and with the researcher. The study found that Bob changed his behaviors depending on the formality of the context. In the most formal context, the classroom with his teacher, Bob's language differed from that produced in the least formal context, at home with the researcher who was a friend of the family. With his teacher in the formal context, he took fewer risks than at home with the researcher where he used the widest range of language functions. He was conscious of the formal context of school and wanted to do well in it, so he did not speak as often because he did not want to make mistakes. This study

shows that interlocutor also has an effect on language use by a learner. In Bob's case, the researchers found that new language features appeared first with the researcher, then at desk work with peers and finally, with the teacher. If Bob had only used the target language with the teacher, his language learning may have progressed at a slower rate.

Another study which shows the effect context can have on learner language is Tarone and Swain's (1995) study on immersion language classrooms. The researchers discuss the tendency by students in immersion classrooms to use the L2 with the teacher and for academic work, but to switch to their L1 for socializing. They suggest that because the students in immersion classrooms are only getting one register from the teacher, academic language, they do not get enough sociolinguistic input in order to be able to socialize in their L2. The academic register they hear and use in the classroom is not meaningful to them socially, and so they switch to their L1 in order to interact with their peers. This study suggests that the types of registers present or absent in the language learning environment may influence a learner's ability to acquire those registers and even the ability to stay in the target language.

The goal of the teaching environment may also affect a learner's second language learning. Gardner and Lambert (1972) introduced the concept of language learning motivation as a factor in second language acquisition. Since then, this concept has been studied widely, mostly as measured by the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (1985) developed by Gardner (Ortega, 2009). There has been much research on language learning motivation including critique of the hegemony of Gardner's model, but broadly we can look at two types of motivation: instrumental and integrative. When an individual has instrumental motivation for learning the L2, they are learning for pragmatic reasons such as getting a job, passing a college entrance exam, getting a grade, or pursuing education in the L2. A learner with integrative motivation, however, learns the

L2 for reasons more related to identity, such as a desire for close connection to the target culture and the people who speak the L2. While these terms are generally applied to individuals, they can also be used to categorize goals of teaching contexts. For example, a teaching context with a goal of preparing students for a proficiency test would inspire instrumental motivation while a context attempting to prepare students to identify and interact with members of the target culture could be considered to inspire more integrative motivation. Ortega (2009) notes that it is important to remember that L2 learning motivation is not static, but can change over time and is influenced by different factors including social context.

Related to the concept of motivation is the concept of identity which is also influenced by social context. CLV aspires to help shape students' identity. Identity theory, first garnering interest from the field of second language acquisition with Bonny Norton Peirce's 1993 dissertation on five immigrant women in Canada struggling with identity, posits that the sense of self is socially constructed and constrained (Ortega, 2009). Two important concepts that stem from second language identity theory that may influence a language learner's motivation are investment and imagined communities. Investment is the learner's understanding that by investing time and effort in learning a second language, they can increase their cultural capital. A learner's investment can only be understood by consideration of his or her identities which are dynamic and influenced by the learner's social context (Ortega, 2009). If a learner can imagine themselves an identity as a member of a specific language speaking community, this may increase their motivation and investment in learning the language. This can be motivating even if the community is not necessarily tangible, but imagined. The term imagined community (coined by Benedict Anderson (1991) to describe nation-states) was applied to the field of SLA by Bonny Norton; it is a group "of people, not immediately tangible and accessible, with whom we

connect through the power of the imagination" (Kanno & Norton, 2003: 241). For example, Kanno and Norton (2003) describe Rui, a Japanese teenager who lived most of his life in English-speaking countries. Although he had lived longer in English-speaking countries, Rui firmly believed in his Japanese identity which caused him to maintain his Japanese language proficiency. However, his imagined Japan was much different than the one he encountered later in life and when he experienced the "real" Japan which did not live up to his imagination, he became severely disappointed and did not want to be Japanese anymore. Though it ultimately did not last, during the period when he had his imagined community, it served as a powerful language learning motivation for Rui. This example suggests that a context which allows learners to imagine a new identity for themselves as part of a community, like CLV, probably plays a role in a learner's investment in learning the target language and in his or her identity formation.

The use of the L1 while one is trying to learn an L2 is another social contextual factor that research has shown may impact SLA. CLV and formal language classrooms provide different contexts for L1 use in learning the L2. Cook (2001) notes that there is a permeating belief in foreign language teaching methods and literature that L1 use should be avoided as much as possible and that teachers often feel guilty when they stray from the L2 in the classroom. This is a commonly held belief in foreign language classrooms which most likely stems from the idea that with little time in the classroom, teachers should expose students to the L2 as much as possible. However, while it may be a useful strategy, Cook argues that this idea actually has no straightforward theoretical rationale and the reasons for this belief are based on a monolingual mindset of how people learn their L1. He explains that codeswitching, switching from one language to another for specific purposes (as is common in CLV), is actually a highly skilled activity which occurs naturally in the real world all the time. The pressure from an anti-L1

attitude forces language teachers to not consider the benefits of strategic use of the L1 in the classroom. For example, complex grammar concepts may be grasped and made more meaningful more quickly in the students' L1. In recent years, other scholars have taken up codeswitching and there has been much debate over a newer term, translanguaging. Translanguaging is a pedagogical practice, a systematic use of both languages, drawing on the strength of bilinguals, moving past the idea of bilingualism as being double monolingualism (García, 2009). As a pedagogical practice, it may have important benefits in helping speakers of minoritized languages to navigate and validate their different identities.

Another factor that is thought to impact second language acquisition that has brought about much debate in the field is the age at which a learner begins to learn the L2. Table 1 shows that CLV learners often are exposed to the L2 at a much younger age than are foreign language classroom learners – often before puberty. The Critical Period Hypothesis, originated by Penfield and Roberts (1959) and Lenneberg (1967), suggests that there is an optimal time for language acquisition which fades around the age of puberty (Ortega, 2009). According to this hypothesis, *when* a learner begins to learn an L2 matters and if it is past the age of puberty– as is typically the case in foreign language classrooms --, a learner may never achieve "native-like" proficiency in certain features of the target language. Though there have been many studies which have investigated diverse topics related to age in second language acquisition, Ortega (2009) notes that there is no definitive answer yet on how age affects second language acquisition.

While a sociolinguistic framework explains at a macro level how elements of different broad social contexts may influence a language learner's language production, a sociocultural framework focuses at a more microlevel on how learning happens in one-on-one interactions between a learner and a more knowledgeable partner, whatever the larger social context may be.

Sociocultural research drawn from Vygotsky's theoretical framework was first applied to the field by Lantolf and Frawley (1985), and has resulted in much second language acquisition research since. A major concept in sociocultural SLA research is *internalization* which is "the process through which individuals appropriate social forms of mediation...such as language...and use it to regulate their own mental activity" (Lantolf & Beckett, 2009: 460). Learning, including language learning, takes part in the social environment, becoming internalized through interaction with knowledgeable others. For Vygotsky, a child's development of new skills occurs in a zone of proximal development (ZPD); in this zone, a child can produce something he or she is learning but that is beyond his or her current level of development through practice of new behaviors with the support of a more knowledgeable partner (Broner, 2013). In the ZPD, support of learning is sometimes called scaffolding. Because language learning is all about scaffolded negotiation of meaning and form, the interlocutor will have an effect on the language produced in an interaction. An example of this can be drawn from Tarone and Liu (1995). Bob used different features of language depending on who he was talking to and where. Over the same time period, he used Stage 5 questions with the researcher while using Stage 3 questions with his teacher at school.

Another sociocultural factor that may impact second language acquisition is language play, which existing studies suggest occurs more in CLV than in foreign language classrooms. Research on language play in SLA has so far centered around two major approaches: Vygotskian and Bakhtinian. Lantolf (1997), coming from a Vygotskian perspective, conceives of language play as a tool for rehearsal of new language forms. It is not necessarily enjoyable and not undertaken for the purposes of fun, but used by learners in the process of internalizing the new language. It is self-directed, private speech not intended for public performance and could

manifest in such ways as learners repeating sentences over and over in their head, saying new vocabulary words or phrases under their breath, or talking to themselves in the target language (Broner, 2013). Lantolf is primarily concerned with language play in the language classroom. In his view, language play disappears over time as learners progress and master the language. He suggests that, "language play, in and of itself, [may not] lead to successful SLA [however] without language play learning is unlikely to occur" (p. 19) (Lantolf (1997) cited in Broner, 2013: 4).

Cook (1997), coming from a Bakhtinian perspective, puts forth the notion of language play as being ludic, or fun, for the purposes of enjoyment rather than rehearsal. There are two major types of ludic language play: playing with form (sounds, grammatical structures) and playing with meaning (to create fictional worlds). Cook draws on Bakhtin (1981) who was interested in speakers' use of creativity and semantic language play. Bakhtin explained that this type of language play requires that the speaker master "many different genres, registers, dialects and other varieties of language" (Tarone, 2000: 34). He introduced the concept of "double voicing" which occurs when a speaker deliberately mixes varieties, using someone else's discourse for his or her own purposes such as parody or irony.

While Lantolf sees language play as disappearing over time as learners master the forms, Cook's ludic language play occurs at all levels and does not fade over time. Cook (1997) explains that language learning is complex as "it is sometimes play and sometimes for real, sometimes form-focused and sometimes meaning-focused, sometimes fiction and sometimes fact" (231). He argues that the trend in modern language classrooms towards a focus on meaning over form and obsession over "authentic language" misses the boat because generally, the authentic language used does not contain or allow for language play. He recommends that

language classrooms could be richer and more complex environments for learning if they were thought of as "a play world in which people can practice and prepare" (230). Language classrooms, he argues, should be more like the real world where people play with language all the time. While Lantolf and Cook theorized about language play, Broner and Tarone (2001) made the first attempt to document how second language learners actually use the different types of language play. They analyzed data from a fifth-grade Spanish immersion class and found several examples of language play including ludic language play, language play as rehearsal and a combination of both. From their study, it is clear that L2 learners do participate in both types of language play.

In view of this research, it is very interesting that a major hallmark of CLV, one that sharply differentiates it from foreign language classrooms, is its explicit support for language play. Hamilton and Cohen (2004), which represents the first scholarly research to attempt to capture and describe the atmosphere of learning at CLV, explained that the villages are discourse communities specifically set up to provide opportunities to use the target language. The key to these opportunities is what the researchers call the construction of a "playworld**,**" "a world into which participants are drawn through use of space and allocation of time" which is the very basis for all language instruction at CLV (239). It is based on both definitions of language play as learners have time to both rehearse language (Lantolf, 1997), and enjoy using the language creatively (Cook, 1997). Additionally, at CLV learners also combine the two, rehearsing language in a humorous way through using old, routine language in novel ways. The researchers note that the purpose of this playworld is *not* to recreate a typical day in the country(ies) in which the target language is spoken. Rather, it functions as an imagined community place where learners can meaningfully play and rehearse with new identities as target language speakers.

In a study on the role of meaningful play on SLA in the Norwegian language village, Borey and Dahl (2010) explain that the village functions as a place somewhere in between "the authentic and the fantastic", specifically tailored to language learners and their needs while expanding their target language horizon (63). The playworld is an "imaginative universe" which participants enter into "employing play to render the exotic familiar and the familiar exotic" (Borey & Dahl, 2010:70). The atmosphere created by allowing learners to play is key in helping learners develop new identities as cultural and linguistic insiders, the main goal of CLV, because it presents opportunities for transformative learning (Dahl, 2009). Transformative learning is "a kind of learning that lasts. It lasts because it doesn't just change what we know. It changes who we are" (Mezirow 2000, cited in Dahl, 2009: 226). To investigate transformative learning at CLV, Dahl, Sethre-Hofstad, and Salomon (2013) surveyed 59 past and present CLV participants about their experiences in the Norwegian program. Overall, the participants interviewed felt that during their time at the village, they were safe and had ample opportunity to experiment with ideas, experiences and identities from new cultures and compare and integrate them into their existing cultural frameworks. Dahl et al. (2013) conclude that the opportunity provided by the villages for safe experimentation in the playworld leads participants to take on "new ways of thinking, feeling, and being" (110).

We have now looked at some of the main sociolinguistic and sociocultural factors that impact SLA that also vary between the foreign language classroom and the CLV learning context and that might be expected to influence what it is that learners learn in those contexts. These factors are: formality vs. informality, interlocutors, registers, goals, motivation, identity, use of the L1, age, and language play. Now we will take a more detailed look at the way the CLV program is structured.

CONCORDIA LANGUAGE VILLAGES

Though many readers are likely familiar with the foreign language classroom context, CLV is a unique context under researched by the SLA literature. A more detailed description of CLV integrating mention of the lit review issues of overall goal, identity, and norms of language instruction and use will now be presented starting with a brief history of the program.

A brief note about my stance as a researcher is necessary here. When I describe Concordia Language Villages, I use my own personal experience and observations from the ten summers (six as a villager and four on staff) I have spent at Sjölunden, the Swedish language village. I use my status as a member of the Sjölunden community and observations from my time there to give more depth to this study. It is important to acknowledge that it is of course quite possible that someone else could observe and interpret situations differently than me. I support my observations and experiences with the literature on CLV wherever possible but there have been no formal studies documenting routines and life at Sjölunden, so I use my own experiences to fill in this gap.

CLV is a language immersion summer program for students aged 7-18. The first village, German, began in 1961 by Gerald Haukebo as a way for German students to get more practice with the language and for teachers to get more practice teaching the language (Friedrich, 1961). A one week session was offered and 72 villagers attended. Since then, the program has expanded greatly and there are currently 15 villages staffed by native and non-native speakers of the target language. The languages offered are: Arabic, Chinese, Danish, English, Finnish, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Norwegian, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, and Swedish. CLV offers one-, two-, or four-week sessions for participants throughout the summer. One-week sessions are typically for the youngest students and provide an introductory experience to the

villages. All ages can attend two-week sessions which focus on building oral language. The four-week session is the intensive high school credit program which offers 180 hours of instruction and awards a one-year high school language credit for successful completion of it (Hamilton, Crane, Bartoshesky, 2005).

Though the villages at CLV are indeed *language* villages, the program has a larger goal than just language proficiency. As mentioned above, the primary goal is "to prepare young people for responsible citizenship in our global community." CLV conceives of a global citizen as one "who understands and appreciates cultural diversity, communicates with confidence and cultural sensitivity in more than one language, responds creatively and critically to issues that transcend national boundaries, expresses empathy for neighbors in the global village, and promotes a world view of peace, justice and sustainability for all" (Dahl, Clementi, Heysel & Spenader, 2007: 157). In order to become a responsible global citizen, participants must learn to see themselves in different ways. They must move "from an identity of "me, myself and I" towards "me, you and us", connecting with new cultures in meaningful ways in order to ultimately develop identities as linguistic and cultural insiders (Dahl et al., 2007: 143).

This goal of identity change informs how language is taught at the villages. Dahl et al. (2007) explain that CLV participants should have the opportunity "To safely jump into new languages and cultures, splash around, and get thoroughly wet -- stepping out refreshed with new knowledge, skills, and perspectives to inform the next steps of their trajectory" (156). To help learners safely jump into the playworld and splash around, language instruction is highly scaffolded at CLV. All villagers must use the target language at certain places and times in the day. For example, at the shop, bank, and meal times, villagers must use set phrases in the target language if they hope to buy something, withdraw money, or get someone to pass them the

meatballs, respectively. To support beginning learners in using their new language, counselors, other villagers and visual cues such as signs with *Jag vill köpa*…. (I would like to buy….) provide scaffolding throughout the village. There are also countless routine phrases, songs and chants which villagers can rely on. Routine phrases can be and are often repurposed by staff for more focused language teaching and used by learners creatively in new contexts (Hamilton and Cohen, 2004). For example, a popular camp song might be used to teach vocabulary or examine verb tenses. Hamilton and Cohen (2004) note that these opportunities provide motivation for most learners to jump into the playworld and use the target language. In order to further motivate learners, competitions such as *den hemliga ledaren* (the secret counselor) and *supersvensk* (Super Swede) at Sjölunden are used. Every day there is a *hemlig ledare* who after dinner awards a prize to the villager who uses the most Swedish with them that day. Campers can also attempt *supersvensk* in which they challenge themselves to speak Swedish all day from breakfast to dinner. If they succeed, they receive a small bead for their camp name tag and recognition in front of the whole camp at dinner time.

CLV learners are encouraged and motivated in various ways to use the language as much as possible, but are not prohibited from using their L1. L1 use by learners is permitted at CLV, unlike in other summer language contexts such as the Middlebury Language Schools where learners take a pledge to stay entirely in the target language (Spielmann & Radnofsky, 2001). Learners at CLV are encouraged to make their new language and culture meaningful to them and thus, codeswitching between languages is generally allowed and even encouraged in the villages. Dahl et. al (2007) note that, "All attempts to use the target language are applauded, emphasizing successful communication of a message over accuracy" (146). The focus is on allowing students to make the language meaningful to them in whatever way possible, to integrate it into their

existing cultural frameworks, which often results in some linguistic creativity as learners struggle to wrap their heads around their new language. Borey and Dahl (2010) give an illustrative example of this process in their study on playing with meaning in the Norwegian village. They present a time when a hungry villager inquired after **matpockets* at snack-time, combining the Norwegian *matpakker* (meaning pocket sandwiches), with a similar product brand from his home culture, Hot Pockets. He had taken a Norwegian word and integrated it into his own US cultural framework. These types of slips are not always scolded but often built upon by staff members. Borey and Dahl assert that staff implicitly encourage learners to experiment with the language, "to actively wiggle words and their meanings around as linguistic tinkerers in the making" (76). According to them, through this experimentation with meaning-making, learners come to realize that language is "a process of creative manipulation" not simply a "recitation of forms and words" (81). Language play is thus a process to help learners in developing their new linguistic and cultural identities. By codeswitching between their L1 and L2, learners are bridging their old and new identities.

This linguistic "tinkering" can also have broader social applications at the villages. The researcher observed an example of this at the Swedish village in the summer of 2013 when a group of villagers directly translated the American concept of "homeslice" (US slang term for friend) into Swedish as *hemskiva.* This word makes no sense in Swedish and because the villagers had a concept of what is and is not acceptable in the language, they found it hilarious. The staff encouraged this development and began to use it as well. It spread throughout the village and even made it onto the high school credit students' t-shirts that year. Staff and villagers knew that *hemskiva* would make no sense if used in Sweden and Swedes would most likely just say "homeslice", but that is what made it so funny. The broader social implications of

the linguistic tinkering by the learners was that it created a shared inside joke between community members. By getting the inside joke, villagers showed they were members in a distinct community with shared history and discourse features which is not Sweden, not the US, but somewhere in between. Because of its situation as a place somewhere between Swedish culture and US culture, with a culture all its own, Sjölunden could be considered to be an imagined community. It is a liminal space in which learners can test out new identities and begin to imagine themselves and practice being cultural and linguistic insiders. One way they demonstrate their developing insider knowledge is by playing with language. Getting the joke is a strong motivating factor for learners who want membership in the distinct Sjölunden community.

Though CLV was founded over fifty years ago, there still has not been very much research done on the organization compared to other language learning contexts. It is possible that CLV has not been taken seriously by researchers because it is a summer camp and not regarded as a "serious" language learning context. The major CLV studies that do exist have explored diverse topics such as the concept of CLV as a playworld (Hamilton and Cohen 2004), teenagers' repair of spoken German (Hamilton 2004), how CLV prepares young people to be lifelong language learners and users (Dahl et al. 2007), how meaning is negotiated and played with in the Norwegian village (Borey & Dahl, 2010), participant action research on L2 name use and identity development in the Japanese village (Hanson 2012), and CLV as a site for transformative learning (Dahl 2009, Dahl et al. 2013). In addition, Hamilton et al. (2005) have written a book aimed at helping foreign language teachers bring successful CLV concepts into their classrooms. One study outlined different examples of language play at the Norwegian language village (Borey & Dahl, 2010), but did not address how a learner's SLA is actually

influenced by CLV. Most studies focus on describing aspects of the CLV context and not necessarily on the language learning process there.

From the SLA research literature, we know that social context can affect second language acquisition in a myriad of ways. Thus, because CLV is a unique second language learning context with key differences from a typical US foreign language classroom, we can expect that it might have a unique effect on a participant's learner language. But what differences can we expect to find? What can graduates of CLV programs actually do with the target language? Research that has been done on CLV has focused on a wide range of topics, but none have yet looked specifically at a CLV participant's learner language in comparison with the learner language of a learner from a different context.

Because the goals of the teaching environments of CLV vs a foreign language classroom differ so greatly, we can expect that there will be differences in the learner languages of students in these two contexts. CLV, focused on meaning and identity change, places less importance on accuracy compared to the foreign language classroom which is geared towards preparing for a proficiency test and thus, we may expect the CLV learner to be less accurate than the classroom learner. The emphasis on oral language at CLV may result in a learner with less developed written skills than a classroom learner. The presence of more social contexts, social registers and interlocutors at CLV may also result in learners with a wider range of sociolinguistic registers than classroom learners who are exposed to just the academic register. The focus on imaginative play, creativity, and emphasis on meaning over form at CLV may result in learners being more prone to experiment and take risks with the language, such as codeswitching or coining words by applying target language rules to first language words or phrases. The transformative learning environment at CLV may also have more long-term effects (not explored by this study) on

motivation and learner identity. The present study represents the first attempt, to my knowledge, to compare the learner language of a CLV learner with that of a classroom learner.

RESEARCH QUESTION

The purpose of this study was to compare the learner language of two advanced speakers of Swedish, one who learned the language almost exclusively at CLV and one who learned primarily in a classroom, and explore any notable differences. As this was an exploratory study, the research question was quite broad:

How does a primarily CLV learner's language compare to the language of a learner who was exposed to the TL primarily in a formal classroom context?

METHODS

PARTICIPANTS

The participants were selected because of their different Swedish language learning backgrounds; one was predominantly a CLV learner, and the other predominantly a university classroom learner of Swedish. Neither participant is solely a CLV learner nor solely a classroom learner. The participants represent a convenience sample as they possessed the key characteristic of differing amounts of exposure to CLV, but also were easily accessible to the researcher due to geographical proximity and time availability (Dörnyei and Czisér, 2011). While Gustava learned the language almost exclusively through immersion at Concordia Language Villages and Karl-Anders learned primarily in a university classroom, they each have other Swedish learning experiences which will be described in detail below. Ideally, it would have been possible to find a learner who had learned Swedish in high school or earlier rather than university, but Swedish is

not taught in the K-12 context in the US so it was impossible to do so. The key difference between these two learners for the purposes of my study is the degree of exposure to CLV each participant had. At the time of the study, Gustava had twenty summers of exposure to CLV, nine as a villager and eleven on staff, while Karl-Anders had just four summers' exposure as a staff member. An overview of Gustava and Karl-Anders' Swedish learning histories can be found in Table 1 below which provides an overview of the total weeks of exposure each learner had to Swedish-medium environments (Sjölunden, Swedish classrooms, time spent in Sweden). Only those environments in which Swedish was the predominant language were counted.

Table 2: Length (in Weeks) of Participants' Exposure to Swedish Environments

	Number of weeks at Sjölunden	**Number of weeks in Swedish courses at the university level**	**Number of weeks spent visiting/living in Sweden**	**Total Number of Weeks of Exposure to Swedish**
Gustava	23 (participant) + 51 (on staff) = 74 (total)	30	5	**109**
Karl-Anders	20 (on staff)	75	24	**119**

The participants are similar in the fact that they both had worked at Sjölunden at the time of the study, although Gustava had worked as a counselor for six more summers than Karl-Anders. It is interesting that both self-reported using Swedish fairly regularly in their daily lives at the time of the study. The participants were similar in that they both had high integrative motivation to learn Swedish. They were not learning Swedish because it was a "useful" language for getting a job or any kind of instrumental motivating factors, but rather to learn about their family heritage and connect with a community of speakers (Gustava and Karl-Anders, personal communication, Oct. 2016). Both of the participants differed, not just in the way they learned Swedish but also in age and total number of years spent learning the language. Gustava had been

learning and using Swedish for 22 years at the time of the study while Karl-Anders had only been doing so for 8 years. However, much of Gustava's 22 years of Swedish study had taken place in the summers for two or four weeks at a time, while Karl-Anders had studied five consecutive semesters of the language in university culminating in a sixth semester spent in Sweden. Gustava had only visited the country for short periods of time. In terms of weeks, then, the two learners were actually quite similar. Karl-Anders had more total weeks of exposure to Swedish overall than Gustava when his weeks of formal Swedish coursework and weeks spent in Sweden are taken into account. He had more than twice the number of weeks of formal Swedish coursework than Gustava (75 vs 30). So on those measures we might expect his Swedish to be better than Gustava's. But Gustava had more than three times as many weeks at CLV as Karl-Anders (74 vs 20). So if Gustava's Swedish is as good as or better than Karl-Anders', we have evidence that CLV's approach may be more effective than the approach used in foreign language classrooms. Now I will dive into some of the specific details about each participant's Swedish learning history.

The Predominantly CLV Learner

Gustava, age 29 at the time of the study, started learning Swedish at CLV at age 7, before the critical period; she attended for nine summers (three in the four-week high school credit program, 5 as a two-week camper and one as a one-week camper), or 23 weeks in total. She initially became interested in learning Swedish because of her Swedish-speaking grandfather who encouraged her to learn it. At the time of the study, she had never lived in Sweden for any extended time though she had visited several times for short periods (one two-week trip, and several weekend trips), the last time being around ten years prior to the study. She had taken two Swedish-medium classes in college that were focused on literature; Swedish grammar was not

explicitly taught in them. Gustava had worked as a counselor teaching Swedish at CLV for eleven summers, or 51 weeks total, before the study took place and had also taught Swedish at the American Swedish Institute in Minneapolis. During her time working at CLV, she served in a variety of roles as counselor, credit teacher, business manager, and two-week facilitator. In her daily life, she used Swedish often at her job with colleagues and clients at a Swedish organization and to communicate with Swedish-speaking friends online. She was also working on writing a curriculum for the two-week program at Sjölunden. In addition to Swedish, Gustava had studied French for seven years in K-12 and college, Danish for one year while studying abroad, Gaelic for a year and half in college, and Spanish for two years in elementary school. These language learning experiences were all classroom-based except for Danish. Gustava spent one year studying abroad in Copenhagen while in college and learned Danish there through being surrounded by it and also through one semester of a Danish language class. Her other classes were conducted in English, but she used Danish at every opportunity. Although she had studied several different languages, she said that Swedish was by far her best L2 at the time of the study (personal communication, Oct 2016). A summary of Gustava's exposure to Sjölunden can be found in Table 1 above.

The Predominantly Classroom Learner

Karl-Anders, age 26 at the time of the study, had started learning Swedish at age 18, much older than Gustava and after the critical period, when he arrived at college and was required to take a second language. He had never taken another language before starting Swedish courses at the university level. He was drawn to the Scandinavian languages due to his heritage and chose Swedish over Norwegian because it sounded nicer. He ultimately took five semesters of Swedish language classes at the university level before studying abroad in Umeå, Sweden for

one semester at age 22. Four semesters were textbook-based while the fifth semester was a Scandinavian literature class. In contrast to Gustava's Swedish-medium literature courses, Karl-Anders' course was together with Norwegian and Danish students in which students each spoke and wrote in their target languages. While in Umeå, he took classes solely in English but used Swedish with locals at every opportunity. Since his semester in Umeå, he has been back to visit Sweden twice for two weeks each. He also had experience working at CLV where he was a counselor and waterfront manager for four summers. At the time of the study, in his daily life, Karl-Anders used Swedish with his relatives in Norway, listened to radio and hockey programs in Swedish, helped out in Swedish classes, and was a member of a Swedish club in which he used the language as often as possible. In addition to Swedish, he had also learned a little Icelandic in a summer program he participated in where he studied the language for several weeks in a classroom in the US and later in Iceland (personal communication Oct 2016). A summary of Karl-Anders' exposure to Sjölunden can be found in Table 1 above.

DATA COLLECTION

To collect the data, I met with each participant individually at a time and place convenient for them (one in a classroom on campus and one at a local coffee shop) to complete the oral and written elicitation tasks. The tasks were examples of a clinical elicitation task as they kept the participants focused on meaning while telling a narrative and elicited a variety of linguistic structures (Tarone and Swierzbin, 2009). The communicative purpose was to tell the researcher a story of a scene in a grocery store that they had witnessed earlier that day. The Grocery Store Narrative task (Tarone and Swierzbin, 2009: 163) used in this study was a referential communication task in that the participants needed to convey some information to the listener (the researcher) who did not witness the scene and therefore lacked information. The

speakers produced oral and written texts without interruption from the researcher, but their responses were controlled by the form of the task: telling a narrative. The instructions given did not specify the use of any particular linguistic forms other than that the task should be completed in Swedish. The speaker was free to complete the task using any forms they preferred.

Each meeting involved a brief interview about participants' Swedish language learning history and the completion of the two-part Grocery Store task, adapted from Tarone and Swierzbin (2009), and took around 20 minutes to complete. The Grocery Store Narrative task was to tell a story depicted in a series of four pictures. It is an example of a picture composition task (Ellis and Barkhuizen, 2005). Participants were told that they had witnessed this event earlier that day and now wanted to tell the story to a friend who was not there. There were four picture prompts which can be found in Appendix A along with the task directions. In the pictures is a scene in a grocery store with an older woman who meets a younger woman and her child who she knows. The two women begin talking while the little girl takes a bottle off the shelf and places it in the older women's bag, unnoticed. The scene has three female characters, requiring the participant to use different linguistic features (not just she, or the woman) to distinguish between the three. The pictures could also result in a humorous story depending on the participant's interpretation of what is in the bottle the little girl takes from the shelf.

Immediately after completing the Grocery Store task orally, participants were asked to write the same story they had just orally recounted. For the written task, the participants were given a piece of paper and pen to write their response. There was no time limit for them to write their response, but they each took roughly five minutes to complete the task. The written responses were later converted to a digital format for ease of comparison and they appear in

Appendix B. The oral tasks were recorded using Voice Recorder Pro and transcribed soon after. Transcriptions of the participants' responses on the oral task can also be found in Appendix B.

DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis for this study is descriptive and qualitative. Significance of differences between the learner language samples were not calculated as the amount of data collected was too small to meet requirements of the usual statistical measurements. To identify possible differences in language produced by each of the learners, their learner language was analyzed using measures of complexity, accuracy, and fluency (CAF). Lexical and sentence complexity were measured using a type-token ratio (TTR) (Robinson 1995 cited in Ellis & Barkhuizen 2005: 155) for lexical complexity and an analysis of number of clauses per AS Units (spoken data) or T Units (written data) was used to measure sentence complexity.

To calculate the TTR in the oral tasks, the first 130 words spoken by each of the participants were used as each participant had differing amounts of data in their samples (Karl-Anders had 130 words while Gustava had 169). On the written task, Karl-Anders produced 95 words while Gustava wrote 110, so the TTR focused on the first 95 words in each written sample. A type-token ration is calculated by taking the total number of unique words and dividing it by the total number of words in the text (Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005: 155).

Sentence complexity was measured by the number of clauses per AS-Units for spoken language and clauses per T-Units for written language. T Units (where T-unit is defined as "a main clause with all subordinate clauses attached to it"- Hunt 1965, cited in Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005: 155) were relatively easy to identify as punctuation is included and there are no false starts, repetitions, or hesitations in written data. Incomplete sentences, repetition and false starts by the speaker make analysis of spoken language extremely difficult. An AS-unit is an

"utterance consisting of an independent clause or subclausal unit, together with any subordinate clause(s) associated with it" (Foster, Tonkyn, & Wigglesworth 2000, 365). An independent clause contains a finite verb while a sub-clausal unit is a minor utterance or a section of speech that can be developed into a full clause by recovering elements that were elided. A subordinate clause is defined as consisting of at least a finite or non-finite verb and at least one other element such as subject or object (Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005: 148).

To calculate sentence complexity, the total number of separate clauses was divided by the total number of T or AS units in order to measure the amount of subordination present in the two learner languages (Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005: 153). Table 3 provides examples of products of this analysis drawn from Karl-Anders' data. Example A is an example of a T unit with no subordinate clause while Example B is an example of a T unit containing a subordinate clause. The subordinate clause boundary is marked by ::. Example C shows an AS unit consisting of one clause while Example D shows an AS unit containing a subordinate clause.

Table 3: Examples of T and AS Units With and Without Subordinate Clauses

Example A	1 | Liz! Jag såg den konstigaste händelsen i morse. | 1 | Liz! I saw the strangest thing this morning. |
Example B	5 | och träffade en kvinna :: som hon känner. | 5 | and [she] met a woman :: who she knows. |
Example C	4 | {o} o de fick prata en stund | 4 | {and} and they were able to talk for a bit |
Example D	2 | det var en gammal dam :: {som} som var i butiken o handlade | 2 | it was an old woman :: {who} who was in the shop and shopping |

All errors made by participants were counted and were coded by type into three broad categories as errors of word form, word choice, or word order. Errors were identified by the researcher and confirmed by an outside rater who is a Swedish professor. The total errors identified appear in Appendix C. To compare the error rates of the two participants, a percentage

was calculated: number of errors/ number of words. Errors in the word form category included errors in adjective forms, indefinite and definite nouns, pronunciation and spelling. (A note about Swedish grammar: after a possessive pronoun, the adjective changes to its plural form. For example, *en liten igelkott* means "a little hedgehog" but in order to say "my little hedgehog", the adjective *liten* changes form to be *min **lilla** igelkott*. Adjectives also change form after the definite article for example, *den lil**la** igelkotten* means the little hedgehog. *Liten* is special because it changes in its definite plural form as well so "the small hedgehogs" would be *de **små** igelkottarna."*) The word choice error category included semantic errors and preposition errors. Use of English, which will be discussed in detail below, was not counted as a word choice error. The last category was word order errors. Word order is different in Swedish than in English as the verb must always come in the second position. Thus, when time and place adverbials come at the beginning of the sentence, the subject and verb invert (*Imorse **var jag** på livsmedelsäffaren* - *This morning **was I** at the grocery store). When a subordinate clause begins the sentence, the subject and verb are also inverted (*Medans hon handlade, **träffade hon** en annan kvinna som hon kände* - *While she shopped, met she another woman who she knew.)

Fluency rate was calculated by taking the number of pruned syllables (all syllables excluding dysfluencies of false starts, repetitions) each participant produced in the oral task and dividing it by the total time it took to produce those syllables (Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005: 157). No fluency was calculated for the written task as the time it took for learners to complete the task was not measured.

The participant's learner language was also analyzed for instances of native language use. At CLV, learners are encouraged to be "linguistic tinkerers" to make the target language meaningful to them. Though CLV participants are required to use the target language at certain

points in the day, overall, native language use is not discouraged and participants are generally allowed to switch back and forth between languages as needed. It was therefore important to analyze the data for any uses of English by participants in this study. Instances of English use were placed in a separate table.

The participant's learner language was also analyzed for any instances of language play. As mentioned above, the two main types of language play are Cook's (2000) ludic language play, or play for entertainment, and Lantolf's (1997) idea of language play as rehearsal in private speech. Broner and Tarone (2001) used these definitions to create a language play framework for language analysis. They present five criteria for determining if instances of language play are examples of ludic language play or play as rehearsal which can be summarized in their questions:

Framework for Determining Type of Language Play

1. Are there smiles or laughter?
2. Is there a change in voice quality, pitch, volume? Is there a whisper?
3. Is there evidence the language forms are already well known by the learner?
4. Does the language create a world of fictional reference?
5. Is it intended to be heard by others or not?

(Broner & Tarone, 2001: 367)

Question one relates to ludic language play as the researchers propose that smiles or laughter are a good cue for finding out if something was done for the purpose of enjoyment. Question two assumes that if there is a change in voice quality, pitch, volume, it could signal ludic language play because learners are "double voicing", not using their regular speaking style, for fun. If there is a whisper, it may signal language play for rehearsal as learners are quietly practicing the language under their breath. If the answer to question three is yes, it is likely ludic language play as that requires mastery of the rules, in order for them to be broken. If the answer is no, it is likely learners are rehearsing new forms of the language. If the answers to question

four and five are yes, then the language play is ludic because it is a playful world of reference intended to be heard by others. These questions were used as a framework and applied to the data in order to find any instances of ludic or non-ludic language play.

RESULTS

Complexity

Table 4: Participants' Lexical Complexity: Type-Token Ratios

	Gustava oral task	Gustava written task	Karl-Anders oral task	Karl-Anders written task
Unique Words	42	47	35	37
Total Words	130	95	130	95
TTR	42/130 (.32)	47/95 (.49)	35/130 (.27)	37/95 (.39)

The results of the type-token ratio show that Gustava's learner language appears to be slightly more lexically complex than Karl-Anders' particularly in the written task. The type-token ratio for the oral task seems to be more similar for both learners (.32 vs .27). The significance of this difference could not be determined, but at a difference of .1 (.49 vs .39), the gap seems to be more pronounced on the written task.

Table 5: Participants' Mean Amount of Sentence Subordination Indicated by Total Number of Clauses/AS-units or T-units

Amount of Subordination	**Gustava**	**Karl-Anders**
Oral Task	1.86 (169 words)	1.62 (130 words)
Written Task	1.5 (110 words)	1.19 (95 words)

Gustava's sentences appear to be more complex on average than Karl-Anders', particularly on the written task. She wrote more than he (110 words compared to 95) overall and although the significance of the difference could not be determined, the amount of subordination in her data seemed greater than Karl-Anders' ratios in both tasks. The amount of subordination appears to be even greater on the written task.

It is interesting to observe differences in the way the two participants combined sentences, particularly in the oral task. Karl-Anders used coordinating conjunctions *och* (and) and *men* (but) and the relative pronouns *som* (who/which) and *att* (that) to accomplish this in the oral task. Gustava used those same coordinating conjunctions and relative pronouns (plus an additional relative pronoun *hur* - how) but she also used four subordinate conjunctions that Karl-Anders did not: (*eftersom* (because)*, innan* (before)*, när* (when)*, om* (if)).

Neither participant produced those four subordinate conjunctions in their written task. However, in her written task, Gustava did have the only use of *medans* (while) by either learner in the task, using it as well in the only example in the data of a subordinate clause coming before the main clause. In line 7, Gustava wrote, "*Medans hon handlade, träffade hon en annan kvinna som hon kände*" (While she shopped, she met another woman who she knew.) Gustava's oral data also included an embedded clause in line 13, *"jag sa ingenting men jag undrar om* ***när den gamla kvinnan typ "checked out"*** *om liksom hon blev straffad eller nåt"* (I did not say anything but I wonder if **when the old woman like checked out** if, like, she was punished or something). In sum, it appears that Gustava had greater sentence complexity than Karl-Anders as evidenced by the fact that she wrote more, seemed to have more subordination overall, and used a wider range of subordinate conjunctions than Karl-Anders.

Accuracy

Table 6: Percentage (#errors / # of words) of All Errors Produced by the Participants in their Oral and Written Tasks

	Gustava	Karl-Anders
Oral Task	6% (10 errors/169 words)	5% (6 errors/130 words)
Written Task	6% (7 errors/110 words)	5% (5 errors/95 words)

Table 7: Types of Errors Made by Gustava and Karl-Anders on Both Tasks

Word Form	54% (15/28)
Word Choice	32% (9/28)
Word Order	14% (4/28)

All errors made are presented in Appendix C. Without a statistical measure, it is impossible to say whether the differences are significant or not, but we can note some interesting patterns. Overall, the error rates of the learners were roughly the same, though Karl-Anders seems to have slightly fewer errors. Also, both of the learners seemed to make slightly fewer errors in their written task than when completing the task orally. What is more interesting is the types of errors the learners made. The data were coded into three broad categories of errors - word form, word choice, and word order. Table 7 presents a breakdown of errors by type over all errors by both participants. Use of English was placed in a separate table for ease of comparison.

Word form errors was the largest category and accounted for 54% of all errors made by both learners on both tasks. As explained in Data Analysis, the word form category included spelling and pronunciation mistakes as well as errors in adjective form (such as *liten*) and errors in the definite and indefinite forms of nouns. Spelling and pronunciation mistakes will not be discussed in detail here. In her oral task, Gustava missed the ending on a definite noun

(*mataffär**en*** **- the** grocery store) twice (lines 2 and 4) however this form is correct in her written task (lines 3 and 5). Karl-Anders, on the other hand, never made a mistake with this form on either the oral or written task.

Gustava had considerable difficulty with the definite form of *liten* (little), *lilla*. She attempted the form once in her oral data (line 5) and twice in her written data (lines 8 and 11) and got it wrong every time. By contrast, Karl-Anders made no errors with this form, but it is important to see that he only attempts to use *liten* once in the oral task and not at all in written. When he does attempt *liten,* it is not in the definite form. In his one attempt in line 10 of the oral task, he actually self-corrects away from using the adjective all together, "{*en liten, ah en, en liten eh, ja ett-ett*}*-ett barn*" ({a little, ah a, a little a, yeah, a a} a child). He starts off with *en liten* (a little) but realizes halfway through that he needs an *ett* because the noun *barn* (child) requires the *ett* article not *en.* It seems as if that throws him off because after he hits upon *ett,* he does not attempt *liten* (the correct form here would be *litet* to agree with *ett*) again. While he does not have any errors with this form, he also does not attempt it as many times as Gustava does. Error analysis can be a useful tool for analyzing learner language, but should not be the be all and end all as using it alone can cause cases of avoidance to be missed (Schachter, 1974). It is necessary to examine the data more closely for instances of possible avoidance.

Though she had trouble with *liten,* Gustava has no problem with other adjectives in their definite form. She used another adjective correctly which Karl-Anders did not. She produced *gammal* (old) in its correct form in *den gamla kvinnan* (the old woman) in lines 11 and 13 of her oral task and lines 13 and 15 of the written task. By contrast, Karl-Anders used *gammal* in its basic form in line 3 of each task but never after a possessive pronoun or in the definite form such

as Gustava does with *den gamla kvinnan*. Strikingly, Karl-Anders does not use any adjectives in their definite form at all in either task.

Table 9: Examples of Word Choice Errors Made by Karl-Anders and Gustava on Both Tasks

1. Gustava Oral	7 | o tjejen hon blev lite *distrakterad* … | 7 | and the girl she become a little distracted…|
2. Gustava Written	10 | och märkte inte :: att den små tjejen blev *distrakterad* om några mångfärgade flaskor vin.| 10 | and did not notice :: that the small girl became distracted by some multi-colored bottles of wine. |
3. Gustava Oral	13 |...:: om liksom hon blev *straffad* eller nåt för | 13 |....:: if like she was punished or something because |
4. Gustava Written	14 | Hoppas inte :: att den gamla damen blev *straffad* sen | 14 | I hope :: that the older woman was not punished later |
5. Karl-Anders Written	11| Jag hade en bra *avstånd* från situationen. | 11 | I had a good distance from the situation. |
6. Gustava Oral	13 | o jag sa ingenting men jag undrar om :: när den gamla kvinnan *typ* checked out :: om *liksom* hon blev straffad eller nåt för | 13 | and I didn't say anything but I wonder if ::when the older woman like checked out :: if like she was punished or something for |

Word choice errors account for 32% of all errors made by both learners on both tasks. The category included semantically incorrect words and incorrect preposition choice. Instances of codeswitching to English are not included this table and will be discussed below. The data suggest that Gustava has more difficulties with word choice than Karl-Anders. She uses *distrakterad* (should be *distraherad* meaning distracted) twice throughout the data, misuses the word *straffad* (punished) twice which is too strong for this context, and even uses two English words in the oral task which will be discussed below. Karl-Anders makes fewer such errors; he uses the word *avstånd* (distance) in line 11 of his written data which is not an appropriate word

choice for this context. However, it is possible that he makes fewer errors with word choice because he is taking fewer risks.

An interesting finding related to word choice is Gustava's use of a colloquial sentence filler that Karl-Anders did not use noted in example 6 above. In line 13 of Gustava's oral task, she uses the words *typ* and *liksom* which both have the meaning of the sentence filler, "like", in English. She did not use these words in the written task and Karl-Anders never used either of these words.

Table 10: Gustava's Use of English in the Oral Task

3 | och jag såg nåt :: som var väldigt scandalous | 3 | and I saw something :: that was very scandalous
13 | o jag sa ingenting men jag undrar om :: när den gamla kvinnan typ checked out :: om liksom hon blev straffad eller nåt för | 13 | and I didn't say anything but I wonder if :: when the older woman like checked out :: if like she was punished or something for |

The two instances in which Gustava uses English are in the oral task in line 3 when she says, *"jag såg nåt som var väldigt* scandalous" (I saw something which was very scandalous) and again in line 13 when she says *"jag undrar om när den gamla kvinnan typ* checked out *om liksom hon…*" (I wonder if when the older woman like checked out if she…). The first instance of English seems to be a case of ludic language play which will be discussed below. The second instance of, "checked out", however is not said with a change in pitch, intonation or laughter, and is accompanied by pauses, and the filler words *typ* and *liksom* ("like"). It seems to just be a communication strategy to get her meaning across efficiently. In writing, she changes scandalous to "*väldigt konstigt*" (very strange) and completely avoids "checked out."She did not use any English in the written task. Karl-Anders did not use any English in either of the two tasks.

Table 11: Word Order Error Examples by Both Learners in Oral Task

Karl-Anders Line 1	1 |Jaså Liz, i morse jag var på livsmedelaffären | 1 | Yeah so Liz, this morning I was at the grocery store |
Karl-Anders Line 4	4 | {o} o sen hon träffade {en kvinnan} en kvinna:: som {hon} hon kände | 4 | {and} and then she met {a woman} a woman :: who {she} she knew |
Karl-Anders Line 7	7 | {det är,} o sen hon satt spriten i damens handväska | 7 | {it is} and then she sat the alcohol in the woman's handbag |
Gustava Line 6	6 | {ehm} och så de började o prata me' varann | 6 | {ehm} and so they began to talk with each other |

Word order errors accounted for 14% of all errors made on both tasks by both learners. Though there were not many of these types of errors, Karl-Anders did seem to make slightly more than Gustava in this category. For example, Karl-Anders says in line 1 of the oral task, "*i morse jag var på livsmedelaffären*" (this morning I was at the grocery store) when the correct form should be "*i morse* ***var jag*** *i livsmedelsaffären*" (this morning was I at the grocery store). Karl-Anders makes three errors with word order (lines 1, 4, 7) in his oral task compared to Gustava's one (line 6) suggesting this is a difficult feature for him.

Table 12: Oral Fluency Rates as Measured by Number of Pruned Syllables Per Second

	Gustava	Karl-Anders
Oral Task	2.08 (239 syll/115 sec)	2.7 (186 syll/69 sec)

Gustava produced more pruned syllables (all syllables excluding dysfluencies of false starts, repetitions), total: 239 compared to Karl-Anders' 186; using this measure we would say that she is more fluent than Karl-Anders. However, when the syllables produced on the oral task are divided by the number of seconds taken to produce them (115 for Gustava, 69 for Karl-Anders), the speech rate is slower for Gustava, 2.08 syllables/second compared to 2.7

syllables/second for Karl-Anders suggesting that Gustava is pausing more than Karl-Anders. Using this measure of fluency (number of syllables per second) Karl-Anders would seem to be more fluent than Gustava. It is possible that additional measures of fluency, such as pause length, length of run, or false starts and repetitions could produce different views of the speakers' fluency but these were not used. Fluency was not calculated on written task as it was not timed during the task.

Table 13: Examples of Ludic Language Play in Karl-Anders' Data

Karl-Anders	**Example**	**Elements of Language Play**
Line 7 (Oral)	| {det är,} o sen hon satt spriten i damens handväska | | {it is} and then she sat the alcohol in the women's handbag |	laughter, fictional world of reference
Line 10 (Oral)	| jag tänkte ah men {det här} det här läget är väldigt märkligt att {en liten ah en, en liten eh, ja ett-ett}-ett barn har tagit en flaska spri- | | I thought :: ah but {this here} this situation is very remarkable :: that {a little, ah a, a little a, yeah a a} a child has taken a bottle of alcoho-|	laughter

There were several examples of ludic language play, marked by laughter, discovered in both the oral and written learner language samples. No examples of non-ludic play such as rehearsal were found. The participants appeared to play with pitch variation, and made two references to a fictional world. Table 13 above shows examples in Karl-Anders' oral data that were a little difficult to interpret. There is slight laughter in two places on oral task (lines 7 and 10). In these two lines, he mentions the bottle of alcohol (*en flaska sprit)* the little girl is taking off the shelf. It is noteworthy that he chose to interpret the bottle as alcohol and not something else such as juice or vinegar. At the mention of it, he pauses a bit and laughs quietly. It may be

possible that his decision to make the bottle alcohol is indeed a deliberate attempt at language play because during the task he regularly points out to the listener that the situation was "*väldigt märkligt"* (very remarkable) or "*väldigt konstigt"* (very strange) so he may be trying to invite the listener into the situation he has created.

Table 14: Examples of Ludic Language Play in Gustava's Data

Gustava	Example	Elements of Language Play
Line 1 (Oral)	| Okej så Elsa, eller Liz, vet du vad? | | Okay so Elsa, or Liz, do you know what? |	laughter, pitch change
Line 3 (Oral)	| och jag såg nåt som var väldigt scandalous | | and I saw something that was very scandalous |	laughter, pitch change
Line 10 (Written)	| De två kvinnorna började att diskutera Hillary Clinton | | The two women began to discuss Hillary Clinton |	fictional world of reference

Table 14 above shows examples of language play in Gustava's oral and written learner language that were clearer and easier to identify. In line 1, she says "*vet du vad?"* (do you know what?) with a distinct pitch change and slight laughter which are both evidence of potential ludic language play. These pitch and intonation changes serve to make the story more interesting. She is playing with voices to try and draw the listener in. Her tone of voice signals that she has gossip to share with the listener, as in: "You'll never guess what I just saw…" In the written task, she switches the use of scandalous to *väldigt konstigt* (very strange) which may be because she perceives of the written task as more formal and that English should not be used on it. Then, in

line 3 she says "*jag såg nåt som var väldigt* scandalous" (I saw something that was very scandalous) with an even more prominent pitch and intonation change. This change is also accompanied by laughter before she starts in on telling her tale. She codeswitches to English and pronounces the word "scandalous" with an American accent which may show she is playing with voices. There was another clear example of ludic language play in Gustava's written task, this time an example of creativity in constructing a fictional world in line 10 when she says the women in the store began to "*diskutera Hillary Clinton*" (discuss Hillary Clinton). It was around the time of the most recent presidential election that the study took place and many people had been discussing Hillary Clinton. By drawing it into her writing, she was bringing an element from the real world into her task for humorous effect.

DISCUSSION

So what have we learned about the Swedish learner language produced by a predominantly CLV vs a predominantly classroom learner? It is important to note that the results of this study of two participants cannot be generalized. Nevertheless, it serves as an important jumping off point to ponder interesting comparisons between the two contexts of CLV and foreign language classrooms. The results of this study show that the learners appeared to be similar overall on measures of complexity, accuracy, and fluency, but a closer look at the data reveal some interesting differences. It is somewhat surprising that in spite of Karl-Anders' longer exposure to Swedish, Gustava's oral Swedish learner language appeared to be better than his on measures of lexical and sentence complexity, with greater use of language play, and features of Swedish vernacular in this study. Karl-Anders seemed to slightly outperform Gustava on some (but not all) measures of accuracy, though this may have been because he avoided producing problematic forms that Gustava did not. When oral fluency is measured by total number of

pruned syllables produced, Gustava seemed to be more fluent, but when it is measured by amount of time taken to produce those syllables, Karl-Anders appeared more fluent. Overall, the data suggest that both Karl-Anders and Gustava seemed to be more accurate on the written task than the oral task. This is especially surprising for Gustava given CLV's focus on oral language over written. The fact that she seems to be as good as, if not slightly better than, Karl-Anders here though she had fewer weeks of exposure to Swedish environments suggests that CLV's approach may be more effective while taking less time than in foreign language classrooms.

We will now explore some of the more interesting qualitative differences discovered in the data in light of the social contextual factors of each environment and issues from the SLA literature. In the word form category, Karl-Anders appears at first to be more accurate than Gustava. For example, Gustava had many more mistakes with the definite form *lilla.* In fact, though she attempted it three times throughout both tasks, she never got the correct form. However, the reason Karl-Anders was more accurate with this form was because he only attempted it one time - and he eventually just gave up and said "a child" rather than "a little child" or "a little girl." It is possible that he decided to give up description for efficiency in this case by simply avoiding the form altogether. Another possible case of avoidance is that Karl-Anders never uses the adjective *gammal* (old) in its definite form, *gamla*, while Gustava has no issue with this form and is able to use it several times in both tasks.

The use/non-use of adjectives in their definite form by the participants raises the question: is it better to be accurate and less descriptive or to risk being grammatically incorrect, but tell a more descriptive story? It would appear that for Gustava, the CLV learner, the choice is to risk accuracy for the sake of telling a more interesting story while for Karl-Anders, the predominantly classroom learner, the priority is accuracy. For example, in Karl-Anders' version,

because he never uses this difficult adjective, the listener/reader does not know how old the child is, which seems like an important detail. Compare this to Gustava, who attempts the form indicating the child's age three times without ever getting it correct (which could be distracting to some listeners/readers). The fact that Gustava attempts the form three times and never gets it right while Karl-Anders attempts it once and then self-corrects away from it, not using it at all, can potentially be taken as evidence that Gustava takes more risks with the language in order to tell a more interesting and creative story than Karl-Anders. It is very interesting that Gustava has no problem with other adjectives in their definite form. She uses the phrase *den gamla kvinnan* (the old woman) correctly twice in the oral and twice in the written task. Strikingly, Karl-Anders does not use any adjectives in their definite form at all in either task. More data would certainly be useful in order to more precisely assess Karl-Anders' actual knowledge of adjectives, but it seems clear from the data here that he may be avoiding the construction of the form because he is not comfortable with it. Gustava's risk-taking can of course be tied back to the environment at Sjölunden, where meaning takes precedence over form and learners are encouraged to not let preoccupation with accuracy get in the way of creative solutions to the task at hand.

Both learners have some difficulty with word choice. Karl-Anders only has one major word choice error which is that he uses the word *avstånd* (distance) in the written task which is wrong semantically. He does not give this detail in the oral task (I was a good distance from the situation) and does not mention his location in the store at all. It is possible that because of the nature of the written task, he had more time to think and retrieve that word. Or perhaps he perceives the written task as being more formal so tries to choose a more formal vocabulary word. Gustava's coinage of *distrakterad* (distracted, the correct Swedish form is *distraherad*) potentially stems from her experience at CLV where learners are encouraged to be "linguistic

tinkerers". This may be a communication strategy Gustava gained from her time at Sjölunden, i.e. when a Swedish word is unknown, take an English word and "Swedish-ify" it. That is, she takes what she knows about Swedish pronunciation and stress patterns and applies it to an English word. Though this strategy can sometimes be used for language play, as in the previously discussed example *hemskiva* (homeslice), in this case the word coinage does not appear to be for the purpose of fun since there is no laughter or pitch change and she uses it in the writing task as well; she may not even be aware that it is incorrect. It is also possible that this word coinage was widely used by other campers and may have never been corrected at Sjölunden and is now fossilized in her learner language. It is interesting that such "Swedish-ification" of English words is actually quite common in modern Swedish, especially in young people's language. For example, the word *sejfa* (pronounced similarly to safe-ah) meaning "to play it safe" is used by young Swedes (Sveriges Radio). Additional examples common to hear are words like *att dejta* (to date) and *att mejla* (to mail). The presence of the "Swedish-ified" *distrakterad* in her learner language would suggest that Gustava's learner language may actually be more similar to that of native speakers of Swedish than Karl-Anders' is.

Another very interesting finding related to word choice was Gustava's use in her oral language of the words *typ* and *liksom* with meanings similar to the English filler words, 'like' or 'sort of.' Karl-Anders did not use either of these forms in the tasks. *Typ* and *liksom* used in this way are common features of native speakers' language in Sweden and *typ* is especially frequent in young people's language (Norrby & Wirdenäs, 2003). They are not generally taught in a classroom because they are not considered to be features of standard Swedish and in Karl-Anders' case, they are not features of his teacher's language. (Lena Norrman, personal communication, Nov. 2016). At CLV, however, learners come into contact with a diverse range

of speakers and learners of different ages and abilities. They have more sociolinguistic diversity and more opportunity to be exposed to and experiment with different registers. It is possible that the evidence of *typ* and *liksom* in Gustava's learner language resulted from her time at Sjölunden and the vernacular language used by young staff and her peers there. The finding of elements of Swedish young people's vernacular in Gustava's learner language is especially interesting as she has not spent long periods of time in Sweden. One might expect Karl-Anders to be the learner to have these more "native-like" elements in his language since he has spent more time in Sweden overall. However, it is Gustava, the CLV learner, who uses those elements suggesting that the range of social contexts and interlocutors present at CLV may provide learners the opportunity to develop different social registers.

In the data, *typ* and *liksom* are found in the context of when Gustava uses the English word "checked out." In this case, their presence serves to highlight her uncertainty. She cannot think of the Swedish word for "checked out" or how to describe it, so she switches to English. No such hedging words are found when she uses the English word "scandalous", providing more evidence that "scandalous" was a deliberate choice act of language play on her part. Thus, the presence of *typ* and *liksom* help signal that the two instances of English in Gustava's oral task are for two different purposes. Pitch and intonation are another clue. Her pitch lowers and there is laughter when she uses the word "scandalous" which are elements of language play. It seems that she is deliberately saying the word in English for humorous effect. The use of an English word interrupts the flow of Swedish, which subverts expectations and makes it funny. In fact, the use of English by native speakers in Swedish has become more and more common in recent years. According to *Sveriges Radio* (Radio Sweden), every 300 words written in Swedish newspapers contain one to three words in English. Codeswitching is especially common among young people

in Sweden who regularly pepper their speech with English words or phrases (Sveriges Radio). Gustava's "checked out", however, seems to just be a communication strategy to get her meaning across efficiently, or simply an error. In writing, she changes scandalous to "*väldigt konstigt*" (very strange) and completely avoids "checked out." This change is perhaps due to the fact that Gustava is more willing to take risks in oral language than in written. It could also be due to the perception that while codeswitching is fine in oral language, written tasks are a different matter because they are more formal. This occurrence seems to make sense as CLV is mostly oral based with less focus on grammar and writing, so learners are potentially more comfortable taking risks, such as playing with language and codeswitching, in speech rather than writing.

In terms of language play, neither of the learners' data contained any instances of play as rehearsal most likely because of the nature of the task as a performance. According to Lantolf, play as rehearsal is used for learners to practice new forms and is self-directed speech. The participants had no need to rehearse new language forms because they were drawing on what they already knew and were communicating with the researcher, not practicing on their own. The learners' data did contain several examples of ludic language play. We saw that it was a bit difficult to identify instances in Karl-Anders' data. It is hard to say for certain if he laughed because it was a deliberate attempt on his part at language play (making the bottle be alcohol instead of something else) or if he just interpreted the bottle as alcohol and was laughing because he thought the situation was so absurd. Gustava, on the other hand, had several very clear instances of language play in her data. In particular, she took the risk to use the English word "scandalous" even though the task was supposed to be in Swedish in order to tell a more interesting story. Such differences in language play may indeed stem from the contexts in which

the learners learned the language. It is also possible they could stem from the learners' personalities. Perhaps Gustava was more interested in telling the story whereas Karl-Anders saw it more as a task to be completed. It would be necessary to gather more data, perhaps having them complete the task in English, to know for certain.

This study, while small and thus not generalizable, represents the first attempt to capture what a CLV graduate can actually do with the target language. In thinking back on my initial interest in the study and returning to the question I posed - what effect did CLV have on my Swedish language and culture development? - I now can propose some more definitive answers. In this study, we have looked at some of the specific differences between the learner language of a predominantly CLV and predominantly classroom learner. While the learners appeared to be similar across broad measures of complexity, accuracy and fluency on the surface, a closer qualitative analysis revealed some interesting differences. Overall, the classroom learner seemed to be marginally more accurate and fluent on some measures, but seemed to have less complex language. His language contained fewer errors but this was likely a result of avoidance of difficult structures as he took fewer risks. He produced two potential instances of language play though it is unclear if they were deliberate or just laughter as a result of his interpretation of the scene. Gustava, the CLV learner, was somewhat less accurate but possibly because she did not avoid difficult structures as much while producing more complex language. She used more subordinate conjunctions, coined a word, and had more clear instances of language play. Her language play seemed much more deliberate as she used English, sharp pitch and intonation changes and real-world topics for humorous effect. Finally, Gustava's language contained more native-like vernacular features such as the deliberate use of English in language play, "Swedish-ifying" an English word, and use of the filler words *typ* and *liksom* elements.

In summary, on the measures in this study, the CLV learner's language seemed to be at least as good as that of a classroom learner who had had more exposure to Swedish medium environments and in addition had some interesting features such as more subordinators, more clear language play, "Swedishification", and elements of Swedish vernacular. What might account for these differences? Karl-Anders learned Swedish primarily in a classroom setting which was geared toward the goal of proficiency as measured by a test, while Gustava learned at CLV whose overarching organizing goal that learners attain a new identity as a responsible global citizen is not something inherently measurable. The differences in these organizing principles shape the way language is taught in these two different environments which in turn shapes the learner language of the learners who study there. These findings provide evidence that CLV is at least as effective as foreign language classrooms overall, while taking less time and having some additional specific benefits for participants' SLA. More in-depth studies on the language learning process at the villages should be conducted to investigate the nature of these benefits.

Though the results of this small study are of course not generalizable, it does raise some interesting ideas about how context influences SLA that are worth considering. In this study, we have looked at some of the unique aspects of the CLV environment that make it different from foreign language classrooms such as the organizing goal of identity change, CLV as a playworld, encouragement of "linguistic tinkering" and risk-taking, and CLV as an imagined community to name a few. It is impossible to say how much of an effect these elements of the CLV environment actually have on a participant's learner language without further data. Taken at face value, however, it seems like learning a language in a creative playworld with a supportive community as one does at CLV would make the language learning process more enjoyable for

students overall. Striving for this type of atmosphere could potentially improve any language classroom environment. If, as the limited data in this study would suggest, these elements present at CLV also offer some specific benefits for participants' SLA, it is worth considering the teaching implications of this study for other contexts, for example, an Intensive English Program (IEP) for international students studying English in the US for the purpose of advanced study at a US academic institution.

Teachers in academic contexts such as an IEP may feel constrained by standards or exams not present at CLV which may make it difficult to include more creative and playful activities in their classrooms. However, it is possible to focus on academic content in such a way as to also encourage community-building, identity formation, risk-taking, and creative language use and play. An IEP is a place where students have time to adjust to US culture and academic English for a semester or more before diving into their majors. Generally, students have all their classes with the same group of students at their ability level so it has the potential to be a strong community for learners. Teachers could capitalize on this community by encouraging, or even requiring, student attendance at extracurricular activities. Efforts could be made to bring the whole program (all teachers and students) together at least once or twice a semester for a meeting or an event so students would feel they are part of a larger community of language learners and users.

Unlike CLV, an IEP is conveniently located in a site where the target language is spoken everywhere and students are immersed in the target culture in and outside of the classroom. To encourage students to develop an identity as a linguistic and cultural insider then, teachers could invite students to bring in their own questions they have about US culture or language to class or to compare US culture with their home culture. Authentic cultural sources such as newspaper

articles, YouTube videos, and advertisements could be incorporated in class to start discussions or to analyze and compare languages and cultures. The IEP could also organize field trips to different places or cultural events within the community such as a local museum or sports game so students could practice the language typically used there in context.

While it may seem that there is no room for language play in a serious academic classroom, it is possible for teachers to integrate more creativity without sacrificing academic content. For example, to encourage language play, teachers could start each class with a poem, pun or idiom and allow students to codeswitch between languages when appropriate. To encourage risk-taking, teachers could foster a warm, safe atmosphere through taking time to get to know their students and allowing students to get to know each other. Teachers could also construct some class assignments which are focused less on accuracy and more on complexity. For these assignments focused on complexity, students could be allowed to brainstorm in whatever language is most comfortable to them before producing a text in English.

We have now briefly explored some of the teaching implications for attempting to bring the CLV environment into a language classroom. There are doubtless many more creative and exciting possibilities for teachers to bring successful elements of CLV into their classrooms, the value of which might be explored further in future studies.

LIMITATIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE STUDY

This study was not without its limitations. It was a small, exploratory study and the results cannot be generalized. The biggest constraint was that the participants are very different from each other on a range of variables that go beyond their exposure to Swedish in CLV vs classrooms. To further investigate the differences in learner language between learners who

differ from one another ONLY in their CLV vs classroom exposure, it would be necessary to find people more similar to each other with more similar language learning histories, and have more participants completing a wider range of tasks. It would be helpful to look for specific elements such as use of English, or use of specific constructions or vocabulary as well. The data sample size in this study was also small and might not be statistically significant. In order to analyze the differences between the two learners more completely, more data would need to be gathered. Though there are limitations, the findings of this study point in some interesting directions for future research. It is clear that CLV is a unique language learning context that may influence a participant's second language acquisition in specific ways and should be researched further. The presence of more clear language play, and native-like features such as *typ* and *liksom* in the CLV learner's language suggest that CLV could be a great supplement for classroom learners both immersion and traditional foreign language. The sociolinguistically diverse CLV environment could offer language students more opportunity to be creative with language, shaping their own vernacular and taking more risks with complex language.

Some interesting topics for future research on CLV would be taking a more specific look at language play in the villages to see how it many influence SLA or to examine code-switching practices by learners. Further research into these topics could take place on site which would provide a richer study. It would also be interesting to compare CLV learners with learners from other contexts such as immersion classrooms or the Middlebury Language School summer immersion programs. Another beneficial topic would be to consider how the successful characteristics of CLV could transfer to other contexts or with other types of learners. In *Doing Foreign Language,* Hamilton, Crane, and Bartoshesky (2005) outline how to apply CLV

techniques in a foreign language classroom. A future study could attempt to implement those techniques in a classroom and analyze their effect on students' learner language.

One question (of many) left unanswered by the study is what effect CLV has on a learner's long-term investment in the target language. All these years later, I am fluent in and use Swedish more than Spanish which I have often been told is the more "useful" language of the two. Whenever the former dean of Swedish camp was asked why anyone should learn Swedish, a small language, she would always reply, "A language is only as useful as you make it." I took those words to heart and over the years since my time at CLV have consistently sought out opportunities to use and improve my Swedish. What role then does CLV play in the fostering of long-term motivation for learning and using the target language and other languages? Was it the imagined community of Sjölunden, somewhere between Sweden and the US, that proved to be so motivating? And am I an exception or the rule? Does CLV truly fulfill its mission "to prepare young people for responsible citizenship in our global community"? These would be fascinating questions to take up in future study.

CONCLUSION

This study sought to answer a question that has been plaguing me for years, namely, how does the unique language learning environment at CLV affect a participant's learner language? To attempt to answer this, this exploratory study analyzed the learner language of two Swedish speaking participants who learned the language predominantly in different contexts (classroom vs CLV) across a variety of measures. I found that the learners were different in the language they produced. The predominantly classroom learner seemed to produce slightly more accurate but less complex language while the predominantly CLV learner used more deliberate language

play, codeswitched, and had elements of Swedish vernacular. These results align with the research that context plays a role in language learning. CLV is a unique language learning context that may play an important role in learner language development and should be explored further in future studies.

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Appendix A: The Task and Prompts

1. Nu ska jag visa dig några bilder. Tänk dig att du är i en mataffär och du ser detta hända. Senare om dagen, träffar du en kompis och vill berätta historien till henne (jag är kompisen). Nu vill jag att du ska berätta historien om vad du såg i mataffären i morse. (**Now I will show you some pictures. Imagine you are in a grocery store and you see this happen. Later on in the day, you meet a friend and want to tell the story to her (I am the friend). Now I want you to tell the story about what you saw in the grocery store this morning.)**

2. Nu ska du göra precis samma sak fast du ska skriva istället för att prata. **(Now you will do the same thing but you will write instead of speak.)**

(Tarone and Swierzbin 2009, p. 163)

Appendix B: Transcribed / Translated Data

Karl-Anders Oral Task

1	|Jaså Liz, i morse jag var på livsmedelaffären	| Yeah so Liz, this morning I was at the grocery store |
2	| o jag såg en väldigt märklig sak |	| and I saw a very strange thing |
3	| det var en gammal dam :: {som} som var i butiken o handlade |	| it was an old woman :: {who} who was in the store and shopping |
4	| {o} o sen hon träffade {en kvinnan} en kvinna :: som {hon} hon kände |	| {and} and then she met {a woman} a woman :: who {she} she knew |
5	| {o} o de fick prata en stund |	| {and} and they were able to talk for a bit |
6	| {men} men det var väldigt konstigt :: {att} att kvinnans barn, hon tog {en en} en flaska sprit |	| {but} but it was very strange :: {that} that the woman's child, she took {a a} a bottle of alcohol |
7	| {det är,} o sen hon satt spriten i damens handväska |	| {it is} and then she sat the alcohol in the woman's handbag |
8	| {men} men j-j-j-jag kunde inte säga nånting :: {jag var} jag var helt chockad |	|{but} but I could not say anything :: {I was} I was totally shocked |
9	| jag tänkte :: ah men {det här} det här läget är väldigt märkligt :: att {en liten, ah en, en liten eh, ja ett-ett}-ett barn har tagit en flaska spri- |	| I thought :: ah but {this here} this situation is very remarkable :: that {a little, ah a, a little a, yeah a a} a child has taken a bottle of alcoho-|
10	| { jag} jag v-v-ville skrata men eh jag tänkte :: ah det var inte {så} så bra att s-sk-skrata så högt ut i butiken |	|{I} I wanted to laugh but a I thought :: ah it would not be {so} so good to laugh so loudly in the store|
11	| men vi fick bara gå |	| but we had to just go |
12	| o sen tänkte :: att ah men jag måste b-b-berätta nånting till nån :: som jag känner |	| and then I thought :: ah but I have to tell something to someone :: who I know |
13	| men det va helt sjukt|	| but this was totally crazy |

AS Units: 13
Number of Subordinate Clauses: 9
Total Number of clauses: 21
Dysfluencies: 25
Amount of Subordination = 1.62

Gustava Oral Task

1	| Okej så Elsa, eller Liz, vet du vad? |	| Okay, so Elsa, or Liz, guess what?|
2	| {Ehm} okej så jag var på mataffär {ehm} :: innan jag kom hit till Spyhouse |	| {Ehm} okay so I was at the grocery store {um} :: before I came here to Spyhouse |
3	| och jag såg nåt :: som var väldigt scandalous |	| and I saw something :: that was very scandalous |
4	| okay {ehm} så det var en gammal kvinna :: som kom in till mataffär och ville handla där |	| okay {ehm} so it was an old woman :: who came into the grocery store and wanted to shop there |
5	| {ehm och eh hon hon} jag vet inte :: hur de kände varann men {ehm} hon såg nån :: som hon kände kanske {ehm en} en annan kvinna :: som var där med sin {äh, barn, sitt barn, sin små tjej er} liten tjej menar jag |	| {ehm och eh hon hon} I do not know :: how they knew each other but {ehm} she saw someone :: who she knew maybe {ehm a} another woman :: who was there with her {a child, her child, her small girl er} little girl I mean |
6	| {ehm} och så de började o prata me' varann |	| {ehm} and so they began to talk with each other |
7	| o tjejen hon blev lite distrakterad :: eftersom {ehm} de var brevid {uh} en hylla me' många {uh} flaskor, vin o sånt, {ehm} och :: som hade många färger på |	| and the girl she became a little distracted :: because {ehm} they were next to {uhh} a shelf with many {uh} bottles of wine and stuff {ehm} and :: which had many colors on |
8	| o hon tyckte om dem |	| and she liked them |
9	| o då tog hon en flaska {ehh och ehm} |	| and then she took a bottle {ehh och ehm}|
10	| men {kvinnan och den-ja} kvinnorna de märkte inte :: att hon tog den |	| but {the woman and the-yeah} the women they didn't notice :: that she took it |
11	| och då {ehh} ställde hon flaskan i {eh} den gamla kvinnans väska |	| and then {ehh} she set the bottle in {eh} the older woman's bag |
12	| och de märkte inte :: att det var där |	| and they didn't notice :: that it was there |
13	| o jag sa ingenting men jag undrar om :: när den gamla kvinnan typ checked out :: om liksom hon blev straffad eller nåt för |	| and I didn't say anything but I wonder if :: when the older woman like checked out :: if like she was punished or something for |

14	|{ehh ja oh ja} så det var väldigt konstigt…|	| {ehh yeah oh yeah} so it was very strange |

AS Units: 14
Subordinate clauses: 12
Total Number of Clauses: 26
Dysfluencies: 17
Amount of Subordination: 1.85

Karl-Anders Written Task

1	| Liz! Jag såg den konstigaste händelsen i morse. |	| Liz! I saw the strangest thing this morning.|
2	| Jag var i livsmedelsaffären |	| I was in the grocery story|
3	| och såg en gammal dam.|	| and saw an old woman |
4	| Hon handlade i butiken |	| She was shopping in the store |
5	| och träffade en kvinna :: som hon känner. |	| and met a woman :: who she knows.|
6	| De fick tala en stund |	| They were able to talk for a bit |
7	| men kvinnans flicka gjorde någoting :: som var helt otroligt.|	| but the woman's girl did something :: that was totally unbelievable.|
8	| Barnet tog en flaska sprit |	| The child took a bottle of alcohol |
9	| och lämnade spriten i damens handväska. |	| and left the alcohol in the older woman's handbag.|
10	| Damen hade ingen anning :: att barnet gjorde det alls.|	| The older woman had no idea :: that the child had done it at all.|
11	| Jag hade en bra avstånd från situationen |	| I had a good distance from the situation.|

12	| men såg den hela! |	| but I saw the whole thing! |
13	| Jag tänkte skrata |	| I thought about laughing |
14	| men inte ville skrata så högt i butiken. |	| but I didn't want to laugh so loudly in the shop.|
15	| Jag ville gärna berätta det till dig. |	| I really wanted to tell it to you.|
16	| Det var så sjukt! |	| It was so crazy! |

T Units: 16
Subordinate clauses: 3
Total number of clauses: 19
Amount of Subordination: 1.19

Gustava Written Task

1	| Hej Elsa, Hoppas :: allt går bra med dig. |	| Hey Elsa, I hope :: everything is going well with you. |
2	| Vet du vad? |	| Guess what? |
3	| Jag var i mataffären imorse |	| I was in the grocery store this morning |
4	| och såg något :: som var väldigt konstigt. |	| and I saw something :: that was very strange. |
5	| Det fanns en gammal kvinna :: som kom in till mataffären |	| There was an old woman :: who came in to the grocery store |
6	| och ville handla lite. |	| and wanted to shop a little.|
7	| Medans hon handlade :: träffade hon en annan kvinna som hon kände. |	| While she shopped, :: she met another woman who she knew. |
8	| Den andra kvinnan var där med sin liten tjej- :: var kanske 3-år gammal. |	| The other woman was there with her little girl - :: was maybe 3 years old |

9	| De två kvinnorna började att diskutera Hillary Clinton |	| The two women began to discuss Hillary Clinton. |
10	| och märkte inte :: att den små tjejen blev distrakterad om några mångfärgade flaskor vin.|	| and didn't notice :: that the small girl became distracted by some multicolored bottles of wine.|
11	| Tjejen tog en flaska |	| The girl took a bottle |
12	| och ställde den i den gamla damens väska! |	| and set it in the older woman's bag! |
13	| Men inga märkte det! |	| But no one noticed it! |
14	| Hoppas inte :: att den gamla damen blev straffad sen! |	| I hope :: that the older woman was not punished later! |

T Units: 14
Subordinate clauses: 7
Total number of clauses: 21
Amount of Subordination: 1.5

Appendix C: Error Analysis Charts

Total Words Produced by Task

	Gustava	Karl-Anders
Oral Task	188	134
Written Task	110	95

Total Number of Errors

	Gustava	Karl-Anders
Oral Task	10	6
Written Task	7	5

Word Order Errors

	Gustava	Karl-Anders
Oral Task	1	3
Written Task	0	0

Word Form

	Gustava	Karl-Anders
Oral Task	4	2
Written Task	5	4

Word Choice

	Gustava	Karl-Anders
Oral Task	3	1
Written Task	2	1

Use of English

	Gustava	Karl-Anders
Oral Task	2	0
Written Task	0	0

Karl-Anders Oral Task

Line Number	Error	TLU	Possible Cause of Error
1	i morse **jag var** på livsmedelaffären	i morse **var jag** i livsmedelsaffären	Word Order - transfer from English
1	i morse jag var **på** livsmedelaffären	i morse var jag **i** livsmedelsaffären	Word Choice: Prepositions - difficulty between på/i is hard to distinguish
1	i morse jag var på livsmed**ela**ffären	i morse var jag i livsmedel**s**affären	Word Form: Pronunciation Mistake because he produces it correctly in his written task
4	o sen hon träffade	o sen träffade hon	Word order- transfer from English
7	o sen hon satt spriten	o sen satt hon spriten	Word order - transfer from English
11	skrata...skrata	skratta...skratta	Word Form: Pronunciation error

Gustava Oral Task

Line Number	Error	TLU	Possible Cause of Error
2	på mataffär	**i** mataffären	Word Choice: Preposition - difficulty distinguishing between på/i
2	på mataffär	i mataffär**en**	Word Form - missing definite ending
3	scandalous	skandalös	Codeswitching
4	mataffär	mataffär**en**	Word Form - missing definite ending
5	sin … liten tjej	sin … lilla tjej	Word Form - adjective form
6	så de började	så började de	Word Order - transfer from English
7	distrakterad	distraherad	Word Choice- Swedish-ification of English
7	hade många färger på	hade många färger / som var mångfärgade	Word Choice - extra preposition added
13	"checked out"	betalade/lämnade mataffären	Codeswitching
13	straffad	fick problem	Word Choice - straffad is a bit too strong for this context

Karl-Anders Written Task

Line	Error	TLU	Possible Cause of Error
7	någoting	någonting	Word Form: Spelling
10	anning	aning	Word Form: Spelling
11	Jag hade en bra avstånd från situationen	Jag var långt bort ifrån det som hände/dem.	Word Choice - avstånd cannot be used in this way
12	men såg den hela!	men såg det hela!	Word Form - Choosing den because he is referring to situationen?
13	skrata...skrata	skratta...skratta	Word Form: Spelling Error - he pronounced it and spelled it incorrectly

Gustava Written Task

Line	Error	TLU	Possible Cause of Error
1	Hoppas allt går bra med dig.	Hoppas allt är bra med dig.	Word Choice - Transfer from English “hope everything’s going well with you”
3	imorse	i morse	Word Form: Spelling Mistake
8	med sin liten tjej	med sin lilla tjej	Word Form - doesn’t know rule for liten/lilla/små
11	den små tjejen	den lilla tjejn	Word Form - doesn’t know rule for liten/lilla/små
11	distrakterad	distraherad	Word Form - Transfer from English
14	Men inga märkte det!	Men ingen märkte det!	Word Form - Error/transfer from spoken language?
15	blev straffad sen	fick problem sen	Word Choice - straffad is too strong for this context